Under normal rainfall conditions these wanderings to the pastures (ǂhabu-, v.) are regulated as to timing and goal by years of experience. During droughts, finding pasturage is more difficult and more urgent and more families than usual prepare for wandering. We know enough cases when the entire tribe has left its dwelling place. For an extensive journey, the hut is taken down and packed with poles, mats and household goods on oxen. The well-to-do Hottentot owns an ox wagon, of that well-known heavy kind, of 10 to 22 span, which the Boers introduced into South Africa. Before that time, the wandering Hottentot is supposed to have made a bed of strong branches on which he packed his reed mats, skins and household goods, harnessed oxen in front of it which then dragged the whole affair as if it were a sled. Just as the wagons supplanted pack-oxen, so have horses nearly supplanted oxen in Namaland as mounts. Nevertheless one still sees oxen [254] whose nostrils are pierced for the wooden bridle. 221 233 492 493 484

Thus, the Hottentot sets forth for the pastures riding and by wagon, if possible. The half-grown children have to drive the calves and smaller animals. They must drive them slowly, so that the animals can keep grazing and the lambs can keep up. Therefore it is customary for those who drive the small animals to leave early in the morning before the old people. The cattle are usually driven too quickly for them to graze properly while moving and therefore are left in the fields overnight. 233 221 484

Two hundred and fifty years ago the Hottentots were the wealthiest cattle owners in South Africa from the Tropic of Capricorn to the Cape of Good Hope. Van Riebeeck was a sober observer who didn't write his diary for the entertainment of the public. When he says (69) that at 175 233

69. H. C. V. Leibbrandt, Precis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope. Riebeeck's Journal, Part I - III, Cape Town, 1897.

times in the area of Table Mountain the land was covered with cattle as with grass, we may believe him. In the first decades of the nineteenth century herds of cattle and sheep containing many hundreds were still not unusual. At that time it seems that the Bushmen did most of the hunting. Today part of the Hottentots have sunk to the level of their despised enemies and serfs. Today the Hottentot must 233 178

earn his living as a herder and a hunter unless he enters the service of the white man. [Picture. Namaqua trek ox, about 6 years old.] 233 178

A. Domestic Animals and Cattle Industry

1. Cattle

Tied up with the unsolved question of the origin of the Hottentots is the problem, how they came to own cattle. How did this people at the extreme southern end of the ancient world come into possession of this [255] domestic animal whose origin is to be sought in Asia? Egypt is considered the country which brought cattle raising from western Asia and handed it on to the pastoral people of Africa in prehistoric times. A narrow strip of land, which runs along the east coast of Africa from the upper Nile to southern Cape of Good Hope and is inhabited, except for a few areas, by cattle-owning Negro tribes, is perhaps the route that cattle followed as a domestic animal from north to south. (71), (72). 233 174

71. E. Hahn, Die Haustiere und ihre Beziehungen zur Wirtschaft des Menschen. Leipzig, 1896.

72. G. W. Stow, The native races of South Africa, London, 1905.

a) The cattle-robbing expeditions of the Hottentots into the territory of the neighboring Bantu tribes (especially the Hereros, partly also the Ovambos), in addition exchanging cattle with the Cape Dutch of the south, and the Bechuans of the east has mingled the cattle of Namaland all together, so that the race which the Hottentots originally owned, i.e. at the time they were discovered, can no longer be clearly determined. [Picture. Hottentot cow. Breadth of the horns: 71.3 centimeters. From the highest point of the forehead to the upper edge of the nose at the upper nostril: 53.5 centimeters. Front height of the back: 129.5 centimeters. From the middle of the horns to the root of the tail: 195 centimeters. One race is differentiated by the settlers as the Namaqua cow. It supposedly differs from the Hottentot cow by having a shorter, thicker head, shorter legs and

"strong" (kχoa·kχoa·, vb.) by the postponement of castration. Actually 232
he is stronger than those castrated young but he does not have anything 233
like their endurance. [Picture. Nama ewe, height of her back 76 centimeters.] I was not able to observe how they train the riding oxen and the pack oxen (both called !ga·rub) and how they accustom the draught and trek oxen (≠gaëgo/mab) to the yoke.

2. The Sheep and the Goat

Sheep and goats have exchanged their roles as to relative numbers 233
in the herds of the Hottentots in the course of the last century. The [178]
fat-tailed sheep, gũ/b, according to reports from the beginning of the previous century, (6) once existed in tremendous numbers, but are now

6. Benjamin Morrell jun., A Narrative of Four Voyages etc. [so printed in Bib., ed.] from the Year 1822 to 1831. New York, 1841.

fewer in number than the goat, b(i)ri·b, which formerly was not kept at all. [Plate XI. A Topnaar hut under a giraffe acacia. Hottentot boy in an apron.]

[263] What the original race of sheep kept by the Hottentots looked like can no longer be determined. The illustrations here show sheep that are today designated as the Nama race by the settlers and natives. The same is true of the goats. [Picture. Nama wether.] [Picture. Nama goats.]

Goats and sheep are tended during the day in the field as are the calves and during the night are kept in the kraal. Individual goats or small groups do not need tending. They quickly get used to coming back home by themselves in the evening, recognize dangerous predatory animals which threaten them and flee, whereas sheep are stupid. But a larger herd of goats or sheep always needs a herdsman. Without him (not counting dangers and theft) the animals crowd each other in the pasture or scatter too far. An important job of the herdsman is to collect the animals in the shade of a tree or rock during the hot hours so that they rest. This gathering of cattle seeking shade is characteristic for the noon landscape of the pastures.

The lambs (//kχaogu) and kids (b(i)ri·rogu) stay permanently in a special kraal as long as they are little and are allowed [264] to go to the

B. The Tribal Community

178 The scattering of the population over wide areas and their unstable manner of living, both a result of the climatic conditions of the country, has not permitted the social and civil life of the Hottentots to establish rigid norms. In addition, the confusions of the last years have swept away the ancient customs that had persisted until recently, so that a unified presentation of the social life of the Hottentots in their state and community is impossible today. The traveler [318] can only note those basic beliefs that he finds in his dealings with the natives which are still alive among the people even though they may not be publicly expressed. The little that I can report here concerns the Hottentots' views about property, sexual relations, and power.

1. Property

423 The only instances of private ownership of land probably occur only in the nara-fields of the Kuiseb region behind Walvis Bay. The hut is movable property and the so-called "gardens" were originally foreign to the Hottentot and do not count here. The usable stretches of land, the pasture areas, are common property of the families who have their cattle there. The right to this pasture area exists only as long as no stronger community contests it. Battles for pastures and cattle have been fought by the Hottentots among [721] themselves from time immemorial. The lack of organization beyond the [619] narrow tribal bounds has contributed greatly to the splintering of national power.

422 Within the tribe (another ethic exists in regard to the white man) private ownership of movable property, especially cattle, is sufficiently protected. Theft is considered a serious wrong and is very severely punished (see Power).

426 Repayment of a debt (again only among themselves) is considered a matter of honor but is often taken lightly enough: "!aũs ga ǂarexa ota nĩ ra ma tsi," i.e. When the rock-rabbit gets a tail (i.e. never), I will give it back to you."

425 In spite of the Hottentot's strictness in preserving his own private property rights, he is not at all miserly. He not only divides the last thing he has with his own people, he is (and was particularly so as all the older accounts testify) particularly hospitable to passing strangers. It would be superfluous [574] to prove again that this hospitality was not based on a shrewd expectation of gaining some advantage, but on a deeply rooted feeling of brotherhood.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX10

with the exception of the southern half of South-West Africa and the western and central districts of the Cape. They are most densely settled in the eastern half of this region, i.e. in the Eastern Province and Native Territories of the Cape, Basutoland, Natal and Zululand, Swaziland, Transvaal, Southern Rhodesia, and Portuguese East Africa, while in the central and western portions—Orange Free State, British Bechuanaland, Bechuanaland Protectorate, and South-West Africa—they are much less numerous, although still greatly outnumbering the other native peoples. They are essentially negroes who have absorbed a varying amount of Hamitic blood, and therefore tend to differ somewhat in appearance from the Bergdama. Their languages belong to the great Bantu language family of Central and Southern Africa, and in grammatical structure and vocabulary are quite unlike those of the other South African native peoples. They are also on a higher level of culture, combining cultivation of crops with pastoralism as their principal means of subsistence, their communities are on the whole far larger, and their social organization is somewhat more complex.

Of these four groups of native peoples. the Bushmen and the Hottentots have both declined considerably in strength and numbers as a result of the encroachment first of the Bantu and then of the European settlers. The whole culture of the Hottentots has fallen largely into decay, and the majority of the people have even lost their own language and adopted that of the Dutch; while such tribes of Bushmen as still survive appear to be gradually dying out or at least merging with their Bantu neighbours. The Bergdama seem to have suffered less in regard to numbers, but their culture too is undergoing rapid disintegration. The social cohesion of the people in all three instances has been almost completely broken down. As far as present economic or political importance is concerned, they are relatively negligible in problems of inter-racial relationship, while numerically they are so inferior to the whites as to be considered an insignificant minority.

The Bantu peoples, on the other hand, are still vigorous and powerful, and in their economic and political relations with the European inhabitants of the country present one of the most vital problems now confronting European civilization in South Africa. They greatly outnumber the white population, and appear to be steadily increasing, a fact which is giving rise to much apprehension on the part of the latter. Their social and political organization, too, is so

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

CHAPTER IX

Social Organization

114 The only Hottentot people whose social organization is at all well known are the Naman of South-West Africa, of whom a special study from this point of view has been made by Mrs. A. W. Hoernlé. The valuable description given by her[1] is supplemented in several respects by the observations of other writers,[2] so that it is possible to arrive at a fairly clear conception of the social structure of this division. The original organization of the other Hottentot peoples has long since been totally obliterated, and the information bearing upon it is too fragmentary to provide much material for discussion. As far as can be gathered, however, they appear to have had essentially the same system of social grouping as the Naman.

178 In the case of the latter also the old tribal system has been almost wholly destroyed. At the present time some of their tribes are already extinct, i.e. the tribal unity has been completely broken down, although one may still come across individuals claiming to belong to one particular tribe or another. Most of the Naman, in fact, are now scattered all over South-West Africa in the service of Europeans, and have no longer any tribal allegiance, for it was the deliberate policy of the German government to break up the tribes. But even where a small remnant of the people still hold together under the leadership of a man whom they regard as headman or chief, much of the old system of grouping has ceased to exist. The following analysis, therefore, relates very largely to conditions of the past.

The Tribe

162 619 The nomadic pastoral life of the Naman and the unsuitable climatic conditions under which they dwell have resulted in their distribution over the country in small scattered communities. Although it appears from the traditions of the people that they all originally belonged to

[1] "The Social Organization of the Nama Hottentots," *Amer. Anthrop.*, xxvii (1925), 1–24. Except where otherwise stated, this is the principal authority for the facts recorded below.

[2] Olpp, *Angra Pequena*, 23 ff.; Kohler, "Das Recht der Hottentotten," *Z. verg. Rechtswiss.*, xv (1902), 337–60; Wandres, "Die Khoi-Khoin oder Nama," in Steinmetz's *Rechtsverhältnisse von eingeborenen Völkern*, 1903, pp. 313–25; *idem*, "Ueber das Recht der Naman," *Z. Kol-Pol.*, xi (1909), 657–86.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama
Cape Hottentots

583 he must also present two milch cows, or, if he is poor, one will do;
585 while to her father he must also give several head of cattle. In return, however, he receives almost as many—probably in the form of dowry to the wife, who also brings with her into the marriage her own hut.[1]

585 The important feature of this account, apart from the circumstantial description of the wooing, is the clear evidence it provides for the
264 holding of a special meal in which only the bride and previously-married women take part. Meals of this sort, by means of which persons entering upon a new stage of life are aggregated into the group of persons already in that stage, play an important part in almost all the social ceremonies of the Hottentots. Except in the present instance, however, there is no definite statement that such a meal accompanies marriage, although, as we shall see, its existence as an essential part of the marriage ceremony is hinted at in the careful analysis given by Mrs. Hoernlé of the transition rites ("rites de passage") of the Hottentots.

178 In the case of the Cape Hottentots, all trace of the marriage ceremonies has naturally long since disappeared. For information
584 about them we have to rely for the most part upon seventeenth and
585 eighteenth century accounts, which as a rule leave much to be desired. The two most useful sources of this kind are Graevenbroeck and Kolb, whose descriptions again introduce several new features.[2]

584 According to Kolb, the boy, when he has picked on the girl he wishes to marry, approaches his father, who then acts as his intermediary with her parents. If they are favourably inclined, and here again there is first a show of reluctance, the boy then for the first time directly asks the girl for her consent. If she says yes, all is well; if not, the two sleep together on the following night, when the girl has to struggle to retain her virginity. If she is successful, the suitor must depart; but if, as generally happens, she becomes tired and gives in to him, the marriage is settled, whether she is willing or not. It is not unlikely that in this episode we really have something akin to the wooing described by Wikar, but Kolb's short description of it is more romantic than exhaustive, so that the resemblance cannot be stressed.

[1] This exchange of cattle at marriage is incidentally mentioned by several later writers on the Nama, but their statements are so inadequate that its real nature cannot be determined.

[2] Graevenbroeck, "Uit den Ouden Tijd," 2–3; Kolb, *Vorgebirge der Guten Hoffnung*, 70–3; cf. Thunberg, *Travels in Europe, Africa, and Asia*, ii, 192; Dapper, *Naukeurige Beschrijvinge der Afrikaensche Gewesten, Tweede Deel*, 273.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama
Cape Hottentots
Gonaqua

he took part with the other men of the kraal. Indeed, any man who touched a menstruating woman or anything belonging to her, or ate together with her or even came near her, was regarded as " extremely defiled ", and obliged to purify himself before he could again mix freely with other men. It is to fear of such contamination, as we have seen, that Kolb ascribes the habitual separation of the sexes at meals.[1] Le Vailland, again, states that among the Gonaqua a menstruating woman would isolate herself at some distance from the rest of the community until her period was over, when, purified by bathing, she could again mix with the people.[2] These descriptions are obviously incomplete, but they serve to show that the conception of */nau* or taboo attaching to a menstruating woman among the Naman existed also to some degree at least, among the other Hottentot peoples.

Boys' Puberty Ceremonies

Although the Hottentots no longer observe any special rites connected with the attainment of maturity by boys, there is evidence enough in the literature that such rites existed in the past. Like the other Hottentot transition rites, they involved, among the Naman at least, a period of seclusion, with all its accompanying restrictions and final reintroduction to the incidents of ordinary life. But they also embodied a definite course of instruction, in which certain customary usages and laws peculiarly applicable to men were impressed upon the initiates. These rites seem to have been essentially of an individual character, in that as a rule only one boy at a time was subjected to them. On occasion perhaps three or four boys might be found undergoing them simultaneously, but this was by no means regular or necessary. In this respect among others, therefore, the Hottentot puberty rites for boys differed fundamentally from those of the North-Western Bushmen, where, as we have seen, there must always be a group of boys being initiated together.

No man was allowed to marry until he had passed through these rites. They served directly to initiate him into the ranks of mature men, and above all conferred upon him the privilege of habitually associating, eating, and smoking with these men. Boys who had not undergone the rites ate only with the women, and were regarded as milksops. It is upon this aspect of the rites that Kolb lays emphasis

[1] Op. cit., 102–3 and *passim*; cf. (English trans.) *The Present State of the Cape of Good Hope*, i, 147, 206–7.
[2] *Voyage dans l'Afrique*, ii, 41.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

Chapter XI

ECONOMIC LIFE

Land Tenure

178 The extension of European settlement and control in South Africa
483 and the resultant breakdown in the tribal organization of the Hottentots have had as one of their first consequences the fact that independent tribal possession of land among the latter has long ceased to exist. At the present time the vast majority of the Hottentots are scattered far and wide over the country, without any definite tribal allegiance at all, still less with any definite tribal territory. It is only quite recently that reserves have at last been set aside in South-West Africa for the remnants of certain tribes, such as the Berseba Hottentots, the Bondelswarts, and the Swartboois. But the system of land tenure prevailing here can hardly be regarded as identical with that which existed when the tribes were still independent and living under their own culture. In the first place, these reserves are under the control of the European administration, and then also the Hottentots have changed profoundly in many of their habits and ideas, as a result of long intercourse with the Europeans, and some of them have even taken in a small way to agriculture. It is necessary, therefore, to refer to the descriptions of the earlier writers in order to learn what were the laws and customs of the Hottentots regarding the tenure of land before they were so greatly affected by the influences of white civilization.

423 The Hottentots in their old form of life derived the bulk of their
619 subsistence partly from their flocks and herds, partly from the products
166 of the chase. Land, therefore, was of value to them chiefly as pasture and hunting ground. It is clear from the accounts of the early Dutch and other travellers that every Hottentot tribe in the Cape had its own territory, into which strangers might not intrude for hunting or pasture without first obtaining permission. There is, however, no concrete information as to the demarcation and control of these territories. The reading of history shows that the Hottentot tribes moved about freely over the country in search of pasture, and the boundaries between the different tribes, as far as can be ascertained,

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

affinities of the Hottentot languages would therefore incline one to look for a direct Hamitic influence in respect of the domestic animals also. A more careful historical study of the domestic animals of Africa than has yet been made is, however, necessary before this question can be settled. Any conclusions advanced without adequate historical support can only be regarded as hypothetical.

In the early days of the European settlement at the Cape the Hottentots were extremely rich in cattle. Van Riebeeck, the founder of the Dutch settlement, states, for example, that at times the land around Table Bay was as thickly covered with cattle as with grass—an exaggeration which must have had at least some substantial basis. And in 1661 the Nama chief Akembie, living along the Olifants River, was described as having no fewer than 4,000 head of cattle and 3,000 sheep in his kraals.[1] In course of time the tribes bordering on the Dutch settlement gradually lost their herds through barter with the Europeans, but even in the first decades of the nineteenth century herds comprising hundreds of cattle and sheep were by no means a rarity. Ultimately, with the steady expansion of the Europeans, the Hottentots in the Cape became dispossessed of both their cattle and their land, and their pastoral life was perforce abandoned for one of service with white farmers. In South-West Africa the Naman remained a predominantly pastoral people until after the rebellion against the Germans, when the tribes were no longer allowed to keep "great stock", i.e. horned cattle, and only a limited number of sheep and goats. Here also the great majority of the people are now servants in the employ of the Europeans and no longer live independently with their herds. The old pastoral life has fallen more and more into decay, and at the present time is still practised by only a small proportion of them.

Every family among the independent Hottentots usually has its own cattle, sheep, and goats. There are no common herds, although as a rule the families living together will pasture their animals in common. Everybody knows the animals he possesses, so that confusion is hardly likely to occur. The tendency noted by Schultze for a man to collect animals of the same colour, even bartering stock with others towards this end, probably renders discrimination still easier. Schultze mentions also that cattle are marked in special ways by cutting, perforating, or lopping the ears, but he does not state whether each owner has a distinctive mark of this sort. Nowadays each ox and cow

[1] Godée-Molsbergen, *Reizen in de Kaap*, i, 56.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

the sacramental meal being the central feature. The other discrepancies between the two versions it is more charitable to ascribe to differences in tribal custom. The point cannot be definitely settled, since no other first-hand observers appear to have recorded the ceremony with sufficient wealth of detail to provide material for comparison.

Even the descriptions given above seem inadequate when considered in the light of Mrs. Hoernlé's general analysis of the Hottentot "transition rites". That these hunting ceremonies fall into this category is evident from the holding of the sacramental meal, the usages relating to the fire and to the meat, the scarification and the smearing of the face recorded by Wikar, as well as the seclusion mentioned by Kolb. Now that hunting of this description has ceased to be possible, owing largely to the extermination of most of the big game, the rites seem completely to have lapsed, and it is hardly likely that further information about them can still be obtained. A casual remark by Mrs. Hoernlé implies that they really constituted the boys' puberty ceremony. "I found it extremely difficult," she says,[1] "to get trustworthy information about the puberty ceremonies of the boys, which seem completely to have lapsed since big game hunting ceased to be possible, and with it the necessary test of manly prowess which it offered." It will be remembered, however, from the descriptions given above of the boys' puberty ceremony that none of the authorities there quoted makes any mention of hunting; Wikar explicitly separates the two ceremonies in his general sketch of the occasions on which the sacramental meal is held, as does Mrs. Hoernlé herself in a similar analysis[2]; and so too Kolb describes them in different contexts, and even, as we have seen, speaks as if the hunting rites were usually undergone by married men only. On the evidence at present available, therefore, there seems no good reason for connecting the two.

Industries and Trade

Industries

Few aspects of Hottentot life have been recorded in less detail than the economic activities directed towards the production of objects of use and trade. The great majority of the writers merely enumerate and describe the various implements and utensils noticed

[1] "The Conception of Isun among the Hottentots," 70.
[2] Wikar, op. cit., 94; Hoernlé, op. cit., 68.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama
Cape Hottentots

letting it dry soak the mass in lukewarm milk or water, then suck it and chew it in small lumps. A length of prepared fibre is then taken and twisted between the palm of the right hand and the naked thigh, the end of the fibre being held in the left hand. This done, the process is repeated with other lengths of fibre, the lengths being joined up as occasion arises, until sufficient has been made. The resulting string is strong and even, comparing very well with the machine-made article. It is used as thread for sewing together the reed mats for the huts, as well as for making the snares required by the hunter. From it are also knotted net bags, used in the hut for holding various odds and ends, and serving on the march as a rucksack for the skin blankets. Baskets, sieves, and fish-traps woven from reed and flexible twigs are mentioned by some writers, but no description is given of their manufacture.[1]

The art of making pottery, formerly found among all the Hottentots, was lost soon after the Europeans came among them, although as late as the early years of last century earthenware vessels made by themselves were still noted among the Naman. From the descriptions available of these pots, as well as from specimens found or preserved, it seems that in shape and manner of construction they are generally similar to those formerly found among the Cape Bushmen. The most common form is that of a large-bellied urn with narrow rounded base, small mouth, and two ears through which a cord can be passed in order to suspend it. Other pots of the same style are quite cylindrical, with almost flat bases, while in others the base is slightly rounded and larger than the rest of the pot. They are often ornamented round the neck with rows of dots or short broad lines, apparently produced by incising. They are unglazed and generally somewhat thick, although a few have been found rather thin and evenly built throughout.[2]

Kolb states that each family among the Cape Hottentots made its own pots, modelled by hand by the women. The clay was obtained from termite heaps, cleared of sand and gravel, and kneaded together with the ants' eggs mixed in it. A lump was placed on a smooth flat stone and modelled into the shape required. Next it was carefully smoothed inside and outside by hand, and exposed to the sun for a couple of days. When perfectly dry, it was finally put in a

[1] Schultze, op. cit., 241–4.
[2] Schofield, "Hottentot and Bushman Pottery in the Collection of the Albany Museum," 25–32, pl. II; Schultze, op. cit., 246 and fig.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

439 axes, adzes and barbed spears, and beautiful skin karosses, which
[435] they exchanged for cattle. The regular price for a good milch cow, for example, was eight spears, an axe, an adze, a bag of tobacco, and a bag of dagga, while for a bull or an ox the same objects, but only five spears, were given.[1] Similarly the Naman further north bartered cattle with the OvaHerero for iron beads and weapons, and with the Bergdama for copper rings and beads,[2] while in more recent times they exchanged blankets, knives, tobacco, coffee, etc., with the Namib Bushmen for ostrich feathers, ostrich eggs, horns, and skins.[3] Nowhere is any mention made, however, of regular traders among the Naman themselves.

From the time of their first contact with the Europeans trading relations between the two peoples were also developed. The ships calling at Table Bay were ever in need of fresh meat, and this they obtained from the Hottentots in the form of cattle and sheep, giving them in return chiefly copper, iron, and tobacco, but also alcohol and
[435] other objects. In the early years of the Dutch settlement, e.g. a cow could be obtained for 3 lb. of copper plate and some tobacco, a sheep for 1 lb. of copper plate and tobacco, and a lamb for ½ lb. of copper wire and tobacco. In time indiscriminate barter for copper, trinkets
231 439 and tobacco had so impoverished the local groups of Hottentots that there was little cattle to be had, and as a supply of meat was
178 absolutely necessary to the settlement, especially for the ships calling at the Bay, exploring parties were regularly sent inland to barter with the more distant tribes. In the long run, in spite of abortive cattle raids on European farmers, the herds of the Hottentots steadily decreased, and this, together with other factors, completely broke down the tribal organization of those groups which had not saved themselves by withdrawing into the interior. It was only by entering into the service of the whites that these detribalized Hottentots were able to secure a livelihood.[4]

178 The general effects of contact with the Europeans on the material culture of the Hottentots may rapidly be glanced at. First there was the substitution of European goods for native products. The white man brought with him new articles of various kinds, many of which appealed to the Hottentot. At first personal ornaments, such as

[1] Rees and Marais, op. cit., 13; Wikar, op. cit., 121.
[2] Wikar, op. cit., 97; Van Reenen, in Grobler-Muddersgen, *Reizen in Zuid-Afrika* ii, 147; Barrow, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 306-7.
[3] Tromb, "Buschmänner der Namib," 144.
[4] Schreiber, op. cit., 325 sqq.; Walton, *History of S. Africa*, 58, 60, 62 and *passim*; Hodgson, "The Hottentots in S. Africa," *passim*.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

beads, copper and other trinkets, and tobacco were most in demand, but gradually the skin clothing of the people was replaced by European garments, the implements and weapons made by smithing were superseded by imported metal goods, firearms and ammunition, the clay pots and wooden utensils to a large extent by the iron pots and tin mugs of the trader. In all these respects the great majority of the surviving Hottentots have adopted elements of European culture, to a more or less considerable extent. In a number of cases they have also acquired wagons and horses, and the range of their household possessions has been extended to include tables, chairs, and rough wooden beds. Their mode of life has also altered. The majority of Hottentots now live as servants in the employ of Europeans, others have taken to agriculture in a small, and on the whole insignificant, way. Even the remainder, who still lead a purely pastoral life, as a rule have very few cattle, while most of their handicrafts have suffered and some have completely disappeared. The wares of European culture are now to be seen in every Hottentot hut. Only the latter still survives relatively unmodified, save where occasionally old sacking has replaced the far more attractive reed mats.

Property and Inheritance

Property

Several writers, in discussing the economic life of the Hottentots, have applied the term "communism" in a rather loose manner to the way in which goods are used by this people.[1] The concrete facts they themselves record show that this term is inaccurate. Communism, in the sense of all men having equal, free, and unconditional access to all goods and privileges, does not exist among the Hottentots. The only thing perhaps which may rightly be spoken of as communal property is the land, for all members of the tribe enjoy equal customary rights with regard to it. But even here, we have seen, there are limitations to the unconditional exploitation of the land and its resources, and recognition is given to certain individual and family rights.

All other forms of property—huts, live stock, weapons, utensils and other objects of common use—are privately owned. This is emphasized by Kohler's informant, von Burgsdorff, who says that although an apparently pure communism is observable in the life of the Naman, actually this is not found. Everybody has his own property, which he seeks to increase and improve, and, preferably

[1] E.g. von François, *Nama und Damara*, 111.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

has to be a Chief even before you are born."[1] The implication, in Hahn's statement, that the chief has the special economic function of providing for his poorer subjects, is not borne out by any other writer, apart from Shaw's remark about the milk, but it is a point that does not appear to have been specially investigated.

As will have been noticed, the salient feature in the old political system of the Hottentots has been preserved in the modified system evolved by the Naman under European influence, viz. the fact that the conduct of public affairs, including the administration of justice, lay in the hands of the older men generally and that the chief had no distinctive authority. The principal modifications are the substitution of a limited elected council for the informal council of clan head-men, and the appointment of various public officials with special functions corresponding to their Dutch titles. This differentiation in governmental functions does not appear to have existed at all in purely native conditions.

It must also be mentioned that to some of the Orlam chiefs, whose military prowess had made them feared and respected throughout the country, the temptation to become autocrats was very strong, and few could resist it. They generally contrived, therefore, either to act quite independently of the council, which they treated as a mere advisory body, or, as in the case of Hendrik Witbooi, chief of the /Hobesen, they dispensed altogether with elections and nominated their own councils and officials, thus ensuring that their own trusty friends and supporters were placed in power. Hendrik Witbooi was a warrior chief of outstanding ability and enterprise, to whom democratic government was very irksome and distasteful. At the height of his power he styled himself the "Lord of the Water and the Head Chief of Great Namaqualand"; letters addressed to him as the "King of Great Namaqualand" received immediate and gracious attention; and to his death he was a firm believer in the "divine right of kings", claiming that he owed responsibility to no one except "God the Father in Heaven".[2]

The following "Proclamation", published by him in the early days of 1892, is of some interest, because it gives an idea of the system of government existing among all the Nama tribes at the time of the German annexation of South-West Africa. The only difference

[1] *Report on the Natives of S.W.A.*, 72, 81.

[2] Some illuminating examples of his correspondence are published by van Franquet, op. cit. and 189, 229–30; *Report on the Natives of S.W.A.*, 83 sqq., 96; Kuhn, "The Diary of Hendrik Witbooi," 73–81 passim.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama
Capa Hottentots

765 His whole account, indeed, leaves much to be desired. Its main points of interest, perhaps, are the usages preliminary to burial, the purification ceremony afterwards and the funeral feast, and the abandonment of the locality. The description of the funeral itself is very sketchy, and unfortunately no other writer gives further details.

178 The series of rites connected with death and burial among the
764 Naman have been more fully described,[1] but as found at present they
783 have undergone some disintegration. "They have been telescoped,
784 as it were, into one another," says Mrs. Hoernlé, "so that often enough as many of them as remain are all carried out on the same day, after the burial." These rites fall into the category of those associated with the conception of /nau, and in them the sacramental meal and the cleansing are still of importance. After a death not only the immediate relatives are affected, but also the larger family circle of the deceased. If it is a husband who has died, the wife becomes /nau, but his relatives—brothers, sisters, parents—also have to perform certain special rites before the ceremonial meal, and in a lesser degree all members of the kraal who take part in the proceedings. Similarly, if a woman dies her husband becomes /nau, while her own blood relatives perform certain other rites; and when a child has died both parents become /nau and have to undergo the usual rites associated with this condition.

764 As soon as a death has taken place, the body of the person is prepared for burial. Formerly according to a description given by Scheppmann, the hands were crossed over the breast, and the head bent forward between the legs, which were sharply folded at the knee. The body was then fastened together and wrapped in skins.[2] Hahn adds that before the body was wrapped up in this way or sewn up in skins, the son of the dead man first killed a goat and smeared the body of his father with the blood [3]—a practice not mentioned by other writers. Nowadays the eyes of the dead person are closed, then the body is washed by old women, and stretched flat on its back; the arms lie along the sides, and the hands, palm downward, are folded

[1] The principal authorities are: Schreiner, *op. cit.*, 318–27; Büttner and Kling, "The Funeral Ceremonies of the Hottentots," *Trans. R. Soc. S. Afr.*, ii (1910), 203–5; Hoernlé, "The Conception of Isaos," 79–81; cf. also Alexander, "Reisebeschreibung ins Innere Namaqualandes," 205; Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 333; Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, 99–100; von François, *Nama und Damara*, 216.

[2] *Op. cit.*, 79.

[3] "Beerdigung von Kommunalleuten," in Meinhof, *op. cit.*, 1906, 240.

[4] Loc. cit.

2: Schapera Σ-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

It may be noticed here that the removal of the
kraal from the place of death, as mentioned by Kolb and the other writers on the Cape Hottentots, does not now take place among the Naman. Some of Mrs. Hoernlé's informants stated that in the early days of their recollection the hut of the dead person was always moved to some other part of the camp,[1] whereas nowadays the hut as a rule is not moved at all; and this latter point Mrs. Hoernlé was able to confirm from personal observation.

The widow takes no part in the rites just described—"she doesn't belong to the man's family," said one of Mrs. Hoernlé's informants indignantly in reply to a question. But from the moment the death has taken place she has become /nau, and must observe the restrictions attendant upon this condition. How long she remains /nau Mrs. Hoernlé could not ascertain. According to some informants, several days may elapse between the burial and the final cleansing, while on the other hand the cleansing is often done immediately after the burial. During the interval, whether it is long or short, the widow must not touch uncooked meat or cold water, go among the cattle, or handle the pots. She is tended by one or more elderly widows, not relatives of either man or wife, who take her through the purification rites when the time comes. First she is thoroughly cleansed from head to foot with moist cowdung, then her whole body is rubbed with a mixture of fat and red mineral powder, and the hair is cut from the top of her head. In cutting off a bit of her hair, they spit on the end of it, and say, "The next husband you get must be a lucky one, and get him quickly." She also puts on a complete set of new clothes. All this time there is a pot on the fire in the hut with a small piece of meat in it which the old woman has fetched from the cooking pots. She takes some of the black from this pot, and puts a mark under each eye, "so that everything the widow meets may be nice to her," and also on the chest, "so that her food may go down nicely." The meat in the pot is eaten by the old woman. The hair cut off is mixed with the ash of the fire, and the whole then removed from the hut and a fresh fire made. The next morning the widow takes the contents of the animal's stomach, and together with the old woman, who goes in front, scatters them over the cattle kraals, saying "let there be plenty of milk". Then follows the milking of a cow, the fetching of wood, and finally the reintroduction to water, all as in the case of the girls' puberty ceremony.

[1] Cf. Shaw, *Report of the Wesleyan-Methodist Missionary Society*, 1821, p. lxvii; Schultze, op. cit., 227.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

769 782 788 This practice obviously cannot be regarded simply as the addition of another stone or branch to the mound intended to protect the corpse or skeleton from wild animals. At first sight it may appear to be a protective rite against the ghost hovering over the grave; but the praying mentioned by Olpp, as well as the statement made by Hahn's informant, that people sometimes go to pray at the graves of their ancestors, argue against this view. There is, moreover, the fact, recorded by Biden and Kling, that the name "heidje eibib", or more correctly *Heitsi Eibib*, is associated with this practice. This is also mentioned by Alexander.[1] "These Namaquas," he says, "thought that they came from the East. In the country [Great Namaqualand] there is occasionally found (besides the common graves covered with a heap of stones) large heaps of stones, on which had been thrown a few branches; and if the Namaquas are asked what [773] these are, they say that Heije Eibib—their great father—is below the heap; they do not know what he is like, or what he does; they only imagine that he also came from the East, and had plenty of sheep and goats; and when they add a stone or a branch to the heap, they mutter, 'Give us plenty of cattle.'"

[773] Now *Heitsi Eibib* is one of the most prominent figures in the religion and mythology of the Hottentots. This practice, therefore, is linked up with another aspect of Hottentot religion, the cult of hero deities, to which we shall turn shortly. One other point must also be noticed, to which we shall have to return. This is the distinction made by Alexander between ordinary graves and the large mounds specially connected with *Heitsi Eibib*.

Worship of the Moon

● 778 771 787 All the Hottentot tribes have for a considerable time been more or less under the influence of missionaries. As a result their traditional religion has fallen largely, if not completely, into decay, and the great majority of the people in fact now claim to be Christians. The reports available about their religious beliefs and practices at the time when they first came in contact with Europeans are very inadequate; but even the later writers, although adding considerably to our knowledge, have, with the exception of Hahn, made little attempt to inquire more systematically into the subject. It is perhaps hardly possible, therefore, to arrive at anything like a full conception of the original religious cult of the Hottentots.

[1] *Expedition of Discovery into the Interior of Africa*, i, 166.

3: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913) 1918 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

796 **The rites themselves.** As representative of various kinds of transition rites I have chosen the four which are still practised today with something of the detail and care of
[178] the past, though one needs to be but a little while among the Hottentots to learn that all the old sanctions and controls are breaking down with increasing rapidity as the years go by. I found it extremely difficult to get trustworthy information about the puberty ceremonies of the boys, which seem completely to have lapsed since big game hunting ceased to be possible, and with it the necessary test of manly prowess which it offered. But (a) the puberty ceremonies of the girls will probably be retained as long as the Hottentots themselves remain, and of these I obtained full descriptions from young girls, women, and men. (b) The remarriage ceremony is likewise carefully observed, as it is regarded as an essential protection against disease. (c) The rites are still practised for certain diseases, even though Dutch and other remedies may be tried as well, and (d) finally the death ceremonies are still carried out, for they do not tend to clash with incoming customs.

881 **Puberty ceremonies among women.** In order to make my picture of this Hottentot custom as full as possible, I shall here and there insert information from other investigators, but shall always indicate any information not of my own collecting.

A girl's first period is called *khaxé* or */kabub*. Young girls told me they were exceedingly frightened by their first period, and older women reported that girls generally start crying when they realise what has happened, and tell either their girl friends or some older woman of the clan, often the father's eldest brother's wife. Through this intermediary the mother is told. The latter gets her married sisters and her brothers' wives to make a little mat enclosure (*khaxé ôas*), inside at the back of the family hut, on the left-hand side. It is a screened off segment, measuring 2 to 3 feet at its widest point, in the least regarded part of the hut.[1] According to !Amatib, it always has its own little opening leading out behind the hut. Unfortunately I never saw one of the *khaxé ôas* myself, but I had a model made for me, and the whole proceeding enacted. While the hut is being got ready, the mother goes to fetch a woman, who, though past childbearing now, has been renowned for her former fertility. This woman takes the girl on her back, carries her into the *khaxé ôas*, and cares for her while she is there. She is called the *abé tarûs*.[2] Should the period come on in the veldt far from home, the girl's companions will on no account let her walk, but will do their best to carry her home on their backs, taking turn and turn about. *Woe unto a girl to walk home through the veldt, all the roots and the bushes would scratch up.* Once in the *khaxé ôas* the girl is seated on her skin blanket (*ǂgubi*) and closely wrapped about with her *ǂnâsa*.[3] The wind must on no account blow on her,

[1] Cf. T. Hahn, in *Globus*, vol. 12, 1867, p. 307.

[2] *Abé*, "to carry a child on one's back". *Tarûs*, dignified word for "woman".

[3] "Cloak of skins".

4: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1925
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

161 blood and there is no accurate estimate of the numbers belonging to the different tribes. The Swartboois, whom I visited in 1923, numbered a little over 200. The Rooi Natie cannot count 100 adherents, while the Berseba Hottentots now claim over 3000 adherents. Most of the Hottentots are, as a matter of fact, scattered about over the length and breadth of the country among the farmers and have no longer any tribal allegiance, for it was the deliberate policy of the German government to break up the tribes.

619 361 The present administration has set aside certain reserves for the remnants of the Hottentots. Three of these reserves are already established, viz., a large one for the Berseba Hottentots, a smaller one for the Bondelswarts, and a small one for the Swartboois in Franzfontein; and besides these there are some farms which have been given to small remnants of other tribes. In addition, a number of Hottentots of various tribes are to-day to be found in the territory of the Rehoboth Bastards, while one tribe, the *!Khara Gei Khoin*, slipped across the border into British territory during the German-Hottentot war. The few survivors of this tribe are wandering to-day in the southern Kalahari. I have never come in contact with any members of this tribe.

178 It is obvious that the culture of a people so much harassed has suffered very greatly. It is, in fact, in the last stages of decay. After the rebellions against the Germans, the tribes were not allowed to keep "great stock," i.e., cattle, and only a limited number of sheep and goats, so that the old pastoral life fell more and more into decay. The people all claim to be Christians, and the influence of the Dutch, with whom they have long been in contact, can be traced in all of their institutions, even in their kinship system.

128 The social organization which I am about to describe, therefore, relates almost entirely to the past. The details of it have been gathered with great difficulty from the old headmen of the tribes, and much of it is little known to most of the younger generation.

621 614 If we study what I have called a tribe more closely, we shall find that in all cases it is composed of a number of patrilineal sibs,

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
FX13 Hottentot FX13
NAMA

175 721 The farmers were murdered and the farms robbed and plundered; but it was not until November, 1904, that the German troops could take the offensive. Though Hendrik's people suffered a heavy defeat at Kub on the 22nd of November, 1904, and sustained great losses in the battle at Naris on the 4th of December, yet their power was not yet broken. A guerilla war then went on until Hendrik ultimately fell on the farm Witbooisende, near Vaalgras, and dying, ordered his people to give up the struggle as he wished "his children to have peace."

14. However, the opposition of the remaining tribes was not yet done away with. Part of the Nama tribe of Bethanie hid themselves in the Tiras Mountains and wrought much havoc amongst the German troops, until Christian Goliath, the chief of Berseba, induced them to surrender. Morenga and Morris, as well as the Bondelswarts, continued the guerilla war, assisted by the rough nature of the country. Morenga's band, driven into a narrow corner, escaped the German forces by entering English territory, that is to say by crossing the Orange River and hiding themselves on its southern bank.

At last the Cape Government ordered Morenga to be arrested, which was done by Colonel Elliot on September 20th, 1907, not, however, before Morenga received a fatal wound in the skirmish that ensued.

The Nama under the leadership of Simon Koper, who had escaped into the Kalahari, were still up in arms. After tremendous pains and a good deal of strategy they were also subdued by Captain Friedrich von Erskert, on whom the duty of their punishment had been imposed and who succumbed to a hostile bullet.

175 178 15. With this battle the war in Namaland terminated, and the rivalry between the chiefs came to an end, for the Nama realised that although they had it in their power to destroy one another, they could not withstand a European force; and they then resorted to peaceful cattle farming in the reserves around Warmbad and Berseba. The men set out to earn bread for themselves and their families on farms, the diamond fields at Luderitzbucht, and went into service in the quickly developing townships.

[728] [197] By the peace of Korab on July 7th, 1915, Namaland came under the Administration of the Union Government. The Evangelic and Catholic Mission has done splendid work in christianising and educating the different tribes. More than a thousand Nama children attend the missionary schools, which are fortunately supported and controlled by the Government. The Bondelswarts tribe, however, again manifested a tendency to revolt, but with no far-reaching effects, as their prompt suppression safeguarded the rest of Namaland from new distress.

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
FX13 Hottentot FX13
NAMA

According to statistical returns the Nama tribe numbers 161
21,000 souls. Half a century ago their number was estimated 178
at 10,000. It is thought that the Nama do not belong to the tribes which are becoming extinct, for their disposition enables them to change their mode of life from a nomadic one to an industrial and settled one with more ease than is the case with the Herero.

IV. Mode of Living and Culture.

1. The oldest form of Nama hut is the dome. In order to 342
construct such a dome-shaped hut they bend moderately thick wooden poles and erect these in a circle 3-4 metres in diameter, driving them into the ground surprisingly quickly by means of a stick made for that purpose. When every hole is furnished with a pole, these are bent inwards evenly and fastened together by means of leather straps; then poles of the same thickness are tied horizontally round this trestle. Rush matting is now placed over the trestle and fastened 361
to it. As according to the arrangement of the huts their villages exhibit a circular formation, an opening in the hut —towards the inside of the village—is left uncovered so as to serve as an entrance. This opening may be closed by means of a piece of rush-matting which just fits into it and is fastened to a cross-pole suspended about three feet high, which can be rolled up and fastened or let down. In a minimum of time such a hut can be pulled down, packed on an ox and erected at the new site in a day. It has this advantage too that it is very airy and yet protective against the inclemency of the weather, as the rush swells with the first drops and practically entirely shuts out the rain. The rush hut is just the ideal residence for a nomadic tribe with no fixed abods.

These huts have become rare in the present day as rush 342
is not often obtainable. Instead of rush they now use 177
sacking, pieces of tin they have picked up, etc. The building of four-cornered huts with one or even two rooms made of wood or corrugated sheet-iron is becoming more and more popular.

2. The furniture consists of the so-called "Katel," a 352
wooden frame with a network of leather straps connecting 177
the four sides, used as a bed. In olden times their bed was merely a slight excavation in the floor of the house, but the more comfortable bedsteads of the white man appealed to them. Tables and chairs are not unusually found in the Nama huts, but it very seldom happens that a woman is found sitting on a chair. It is the privilege of the men to make themselves comfortable on the low little wooden chairs with seats made of leather thongs. The visitor to a neighbour for a little chat often carries his chair with him or has it carried by one of the children.

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
FX13 Hottentot FX13
NAMA

773 graves of his are to be found in the Cape Colony as well as
778 in Nama- and Hereroland. He who passes these graves, consisting of stones piled up along old native paths, must lay a stone, a twig or something to this description on the grave in salutation to him, lest he meet with an accident on his way. I was interested to know whether there were really human remains under these often stately monuments of piled up stones. Indeed, I was told that nothing of the kind was to be found under these heaps of stone, as Heiseb was resurrected; but I did not believe these sayings. I, however, found that the earth under these sepulchral monuments was indeed empty. This curious incident instigated me to investigate this matter further as such heaps of stone, worshipped by all natives, are found in all parts of South West and what, is more, their worship was even known at the Cape according to old reports. My study of the Bushmen probably brought me on the right track and the customs of the Ovambo indicate similar phenomena. Up to this day the Ovambo pile up the hard fruit of a certain tree on the boundaries of the territory they lay claim to, to serve as beacons which are respected everywhere.

773 Among the Tjimba I found that they demark their pastures
778 at certain points of the boundary with heaps of stones. Un-
621 less all the information is fallacious, the Bushmen, who were the only inhabitants of South West in olden times, also knew this custom. They erected stone beacons at those places where strangers used to cross their tribal boundaries on foot, *i.e.*, where there were old paths. The implication of this for the strange hunter and gleaner was that all their activities within these boundaries would be regarded as robbery. It is not improbable that both the Ovambo and the Tjimba of the Kaokoveld took over this way of demarking their tribal boundaries from the Bushmen.

Afterwards when the Bushmen had to evacuate their country for the new immigrants, the Hottentots, Bergdama, Herero, etc., these boundary-marks appeared to them as graves, which were revered as the graves of their own ancestors by piling stones on them.

The myth now included these imposing tokens of love and called them Heitsi-eibeb, *i.e.*, place, where Heiseb lingers.

773 *b.* The moon plays a very great rôle in the Nama mythology.
821 It was she who brought death to humanity by means of a wrong message. Up to then humanity had been immortal, but her words: "As I die and live again—new moon and waxing moon—so will ye also die and live again," were conveyed in a contrary sense by the hare. They expect the same things from the moon that they obtain by entreating Tsui-
782 //Goab. Prayers were also sent up to her at the occasions
535 of their moonlight dances. Similar dances of a religious
178 character were also organised in the beginning of Spring when the Pleiades appeared. Now-a-days the prayers have

782
been done away with, the worship has ceased but the moon- 535
light dances are still in vogue and are still regularly got up 178
here and there.

The majority of the Nama have become Christians, taking a pride in being called Christians, more or less. Heathenism has been cast into oblivion to such an extent that the investigator can hardly expect any results from his researches even among the old heathens still left in out of the way places.

VI. Witchcraft and Superstition.

1. As is the case in all other religions, so also in the Nama 771
religion does the worship go hand in hand with partly stable, partly ever-changing superstitious beliefs and customs. The skilled eye of the investigator will be able to discriminate between the two, and know how to keep these domains of religion and of superstition distinctly apart. In spite of the fact that these two are so closely related in the consciousness of the tribe, that the one always contains the other, yet the characteristic feature that a tribe forgets its religion and exchanges it for another, much more easily than it gives up its superstitions, will not go by unobserved. For this reason it is not to be wondered at that the reports about the hereditary religion of the Nama are very sparse and difficult to understand, whereas the superstitions can easily be investigated and related and that witchcraft is still in force, being indulged [754]
in secretly, reservedly, avoiding all publicity in one place or unashamedly and publicly in another, according to circumstances.

2. The Nama belief in immortality is hardly stronger than 775
their fear of ghosts. Everywhere they relate of departed souls of olden as well as modern times, which have reappeared in some form or another.

No wonder that the heathens never laid out graves con- 764
jointly, but buried their dead somewhere in a solitary place 775
and secured the grave with heavy stones. This does not only happen because they want to protect the corpse against being damaged by the animals of the desert, but actually also in order to prohibit them from rising up again.

Heiseb, who has already been mentioned, for this reason entrusted his subjects to cover him up with "soft stones," when he died, as he had the intention of rising from the grave and would be impeded by "hard stones."

They regard many symptoms on the body of a dying per- 763
son, or on the bodies of relatives, and above all, strange ways of behaviour among animals, as precursors of death.

3. He who treads on a grave, passes one unmindfully, or 769
points at a grave with his finger has disturbed the rest of 757
the dead and must expect his revenge. When the corpse of 761
an acquaintance or a relative appears to one in a dream, he

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
FX13 Hottentot FX13
NAMA

marriage and what should be contributed to the reception: 584
or the young man chooses for himself and then the engagement does not consist in asking her and her saying " yes " but in an action. The young man bashfully points a little stick at the girl of his choice. When she takes the stick, breaks it in two and throws the part broken off at his breast, the question is settled and they understand each other.

No matter how the engagement came about—from the day of the betrothal " separation-period " sets in. The engaged couple dare not meet each other, under no circumstances speak to each other and have to avail themselves of certain other people who have to tell the one what the other has to say. Such a period may sometimes be of considerable duration.

2. The marriage ceremony is as a rule celebrated in the 585
house of the parents of the bride in the form of a sumptuous meal, which is paid for either by the parents of the bridegroom alone or contributed to by both pairs of parents.

When after the marriage the bride comes to the village where the bridegroom stays—which may be days or even weeks after the marriage took place—another feast is held.

Since the majority of the Nama have turned to Christianity 585
the old customs have more or less ceased to exist. Christian 178
customs have been amalgamated with ancient traditional forms, whereby now the Christian and then the old characters appear at the wedding ceremonies.

3. The position of the woman among the Nama is by no 562
means that of the devoted servant of the man. According 593
to old custom the hut belongs to her and she disposes of everything within it. When in need of something the man has to approach his wife entreatingly and not imperiously. But since the old-fashioned huts which were covered with [342
rushes by the women have more and more been displaced by 423]
the modern houses, which the man builds with material for which he has laboured, the woman is being pushed into the background. The abode now becomes the property of the man and there is danger that the consequence will be ill-treatment of the woman. Whether a marriage is permanent 586
or not depends entirely on the relatives for when there are 602
among them those who blow a fire from the sparks of a small difference of opinion, it is easily broken, and the woman returns to her relatives. When on the other hand all the relations are friendly and work against a separation, such 595
a marriage is as a rule permanent. Polygamy was not uncommon with them in olden days, but under the influence of Christianity such cases are exceptions.

4. As soon as symptoms of pregnancy become visible the 843
husband has to devote special attention to his wife. In the first place he is obliged to appease her wishes for special food in order not to endanger the new life. The older women interest themselves as much in the expectant mother that

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
FX13 Hottentot FX13
NAMA

177 Nama war afterwards, which caused such heavy losses on both fighting sides cannot be regarded as a revolt against civilisation. The chiefs had sold extensive portions of their pastures; farmers had settled at the best waters; the hunting areas were ruined; the common man felt himself specially restricted and the chiefs and councillors felt that the scope of their powers was narrowed. The policy of the Government representatives to treat the chiefs with marked distinction whenever opportunity offered did not alter things at all. Seeds of discontent gathered and, when a spark fell, the fire of war blazed up.

178 5. These times belong to the past. More than the Herero, has the Nama perceived that the Wheel of Fate does not allow itself to be turned back by force. Great reserves have been allotted to loyal tribes, the old and those unable to work, by the German and Mandated Governments, and these territories are inalienable. The strong and healthy have good opportunities for work and for earning their bread all over Namaland. As formerly the mission still sees to the maintenance of the community life and the cultivation and development of their inner life. What a community in Namaland implies is only known to him who has studied the old history of that tribe without community life.

178 871 More than 12,000 members of the Nama tribe have already become members of the Christian communities. The youth are educated in numerous schools, and although they have no compulsory education, yet they have made notable progress. The Government supports these missionary schools in such a way as was impossible for the Missionary Associations. The Government further has these Nama schools inspected by its inspectors and supports the work of training and developing the native teaching staff.

000 6. Only we must not expect too much. A nomadic tribe cannot be changed to a civilised nation within the *short period* of one century full of wars and cries of war. Yet the Nama is proof of the fact that loyal and uninterrupted work in this direction is not futile!